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824 842 forest, gathers the herb in question, wraps it in a piece of cloth, and brings it to the woman, who immediately starts chewing it. This is mostly practised only by mothers who have already been blessed with a numerous offspring.

843 811 Both Ilоko and Kagayan attach much weight to the capricious appetite of a pregnant woman, and to whatever she loves or loathes at the time, all of which they believe to have its repercussion on the baby that has to be born. So some years ago a certain Kagayan mother gave birth to a child whose skin was much more lightly colored than that of its brothers and sisters, and everybody explained the occurrence by the fact that the mother, while pregnant, had had a very great devotion to a statue of the Divine Babe, which was either made of white material or at least painted white, and that she had gone almost daily to pray in front of the statue in question. All Isneg, however, whom I questioned on the subject disclaimed both knowledge of such a belief and its existence among their people.

843 776 Whatever may be the reason, the Isneg do not seem to dread the intervention of the spirits (*anito*) before the actual birth of the child. Do they perhaps imagine that the *anito* are ignorant about the ways of the flesh, and that they do not know the meaning of pregnancy? Or do they believe that the spirits have no power on children as yet unborn? The latter is probably the case. I think that in their eyes, as long as a child dwells in the womb of its mother, only what enters the body (food, semen) is able to exert any influence on it, and that [833] outsiders can in no way affect it. And so, except for a few beliefs with reference to food, the only precaution that is taken during the pregnancy of the mother is that the husband ceases having sexual intercourse with his wife so soon as her state is known with certainty, lest, so they say, the babe be injured. For the rest everything runs its usual course, and, although such a large number of magical and other practices have come to my notice at every other period of the life of the Isneg, the period that precedes the birth of a child has so far proved to be completely devoid of any belief in the evil influence of one spirit or another.

843 824 In some places a woman who is pregnant for the first time, is believed to assure the good health of her babe after its birth, if she eats *asdń*, which is the fruit of a kind of tree that grows in the forest.

843 262 824 These are the articles of food forbidden to pregnant women which have come to my notice:

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846 778 789 On the wound of the navel the Isneg place some soot and a piece of dried bagasse, in order to sear it and to allow the rest of the umbilical cord to come off easily. The latter (*kázaw*) is then placed in a *táxo-* or coconut shell, some ashes are strewn over it, and the whole is buried either at the place of the afterbirth, or somewhere under the house in case the afterbirth has been buried away from it. It seems, however, that in Bayag it serves the same purpose as that of the membrane just referred to, and that it is rolled up in a piece of cloth and stowed away in some trunk belonging to the parents, to be kept as an amulet in business.

846 778 789 The immediate and natural needs of the newborn babe having been attended to, the first concern of the Isneg is to protect the little creature from all possible machinations of the spirits, who seem to have been lying in wait for this new human being to come into the world in order to work their wiles upon it. The Isneg, however, are not backward in finding sure and almost infallible remedies against the machinations of these *anito*, and they usually have the upper hand in this warfare between the world of spirits and that of real men. We have already described how the afterbirth is rendered innocuous or rather how the spirits are obliged to forego all hope of using it as a weapon of offense against the child or its parents; or does the herb that is tied to it force the supernatural world into granting either some of the present wishes of the parents or some of the future ones of the child? Just what is the use of that herb I do not know, and the Isneg will tell you the same; it is the custom, and that is sufficient [811] in most similar cases. Sometimes explanations are given, and I shall not fail to record them in every instance, but these explanations are very often unsatisfactory, and the connection between a certain practice and the reason why it is said to be performed is very often exceedingly loose, and, at least from our point of view, quite inappropriate.

846 789 As soon as a child is born in the house, the Isneg take a coconut shell, place some ashes and some water in it, and put it somewhere near the door, at the inside. After that, the first thing to be done is to forbid access to the house both to the spirits and to people who might bring bad luck to the enriched household.

With reference to the spirits, this is not very hard: there are some objects that an *anito* will never approach even from afar, and provided one knows which object to choose, everything is safe from that side. At Bayag the Isneg place an *ízād* at the door of the house, at

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848 as clearly as if somebody had witnessed her having intercourse with
845 her paramour. Hence the shame; and this is, I believe, but natural if considered from the Isneg point of view.

848 But again it might be asked: what is the use of resorting to such
845 a drastic measure, that of killing one of twins? Does the shame
811 not remain the same? Yes and no. She certainly has been caught (I repeat it, always in the eyes of the Isneg), but so far very few people know about it and everybody will keep mum; while, if both children lived, the secret would become public property, and everybody would know about the bad behavior of the mother. Here, however, I am much in doubt if this last answer concurs with the Isneg point of view, and besides, I may urge the matter further and ask: Why is the husband not angry with the real father of the babe? Why does he not divorce his wife? It might be answered that he could not very well know with what man he should be angry, that he might even know very positively that his wife has always been a virtuous woman, and so find no reason for divorcing her. Such answers, however, are evidently very unsatisfactory, and, as I have hinted at in its place, the preceding answer would perhaps never be proffered by an Isneg.

Here then, in my humble opinion, is the core of the whole difficulty, and to me it looks simply like one out of many examples of the reasoning of the Isneg, in which they imitate some Spaniards who are afraid of venturing on a trip on Tuesdays and Fridays (el martes y el viernes ni te eases ni te embarques) and some Americans who nail an old horseshoe to their auto for luck.

Consequently my opinion of the whole matter is this: it is sufficient to have lived with the generality of Christian Iloko for one week at a time, I mean to have lived *with* them, not in their immediate neighhood in your own house, but in their own abode, sleeping on their mat and eating at their table, it is enough, I say, to have lived intimately with them for a comparatively short time to be convinced that nothing will happen which might be regarded as more or less out of the ordinary without an explanation being sought at once, not an explanation that is natural and quite simple, but one that will touch on the preternatural, if not on the supernatural. Anyhow some explanation will be looked for, and this will rarely or never be the ordinary one, which truly and simply fits the known facts, since it would surely be considered as far from satisfactory, on account of its being quite natural, while the event is supposed to be unnatural. If a leaf moves, an insect hums, a bird flies, etc., and such an occurrence

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is not exactly what is quite ordinary, immediately all sorts of questions are asked: Why? What is the matter? What is the meaning? What might it portend? What secret is hidden behind it? And so on.

Now the pagan Isneg are no better. They also will try to find some explanation different from the natural one for any event that does not look entirely ordinary to them. And so the birth of twins being a rather rare occurrence, there must be something the matter with it. Twins. Who ever heard of two children being born at once from one husband and one wife, without there being a secret behind the whole affair? Twins: this is far from common. And there you are; an explanation has to be found. Now there is one ready at hand, and to the Isneg mind a very reasonable one, it is not even necessary to enter into the realm of spirits: two children at once must be the product of two men; when one man who lives in bigamy begets two children simultaneously from two women, there are at least three authors, so now also these twins must be the offspring of three persons, —in this case of only one woman of course, and thus necessarily of two men.

Now what to do? Just kill one of them, put it out of the way, and so avoid the shame attached to the whole affair; kill all gossip in the bud. But is every child not welcome? Certainly it is, but a child has no business bringing a companion with it, and the joy of the parents will be complete with the single child; the other one, if alive, will not add to that joy, nor, if dead, detract from it. Here of course the husband is faced with a dilemma: either his wife is a virtuous woman or she is not; if she is, and maybe he knows her to be so, then how can she have a child by another man? If she is not, why does he not divorce her? Yes, but this dilemma does not confront the Isneg, his reasoning does not extend as far as that. If he knew his wife to have been unfaithful, that would be reason enough for him to divorce her without needing the birth of twins to convince him. Here he stands before an extraordinary event, the birth of twins; he has found an explanation for it: the action of a third person. This is a very shameful affair to both husband and wife, but he will eliminate all difficulties at once: one of the twins will be done away with. And there his reasoning stops, the incident is closed.

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Here follow a few Isneg expressions with reference to little children:

Babbíń or *ababbíń*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.

Ababbíń, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

Ababbíń, when used by other persons: little children not yet able or barely able to walk.

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many details as possible, although I am far from claiming that my study about Isneg religion and morality has so far been exhaustive or that my knowledge of these subjects cannot be improved upon. A whole lifetime would scarcely be sufficient to disentagle all the intricate knots, the more so that, especially as regards religion, the Isneg are sometimes far from logical in their reasoning.

In religious instruction the *dorarákit* or shaman plays the dominant rôle, as it is she who conducts religious ceremonies, and it is she through whom the spirits and the souls of the dead are supposed to communicate with man. Now let us see in how far the shaman imparts formal instruction, and in how far young people have to learn by merely looking on.

The *dorarákit* directly teaches her pupils by explaining to them the meaning of the rites and ceremonies, at the time of some *sây-ám* or other sacrifice accompanied by *maxanito*, and almost exclusively on such occasions. Her pupils at the time are first of all the young *dorarákit*, who have been chosen and consecrated mostly when still in their infancy, and secondly all members of the younger generation who are willing to listen. Consequently this kind of teaching is done while the ceremonies in question are under way and it is illustrated by their performance. It is not the place here to enter into details about the ceremonies just referred to; it will suffice to say that the *sây-ám* is a kind of public sacrifice in which dogs and pigs are offered to the spirits, and that *maxanito* refers to the action of the shaman at the time she is supposed to be possessed either by a spirit or by the soul of a deceased person, who speaks through her mouth. In this the Isneg shaman differs from the Kankanay one; the latter is usually supposed merely to communicate with beings of the other world, to talk to them, while in the case of the Isneg the spirit is supposed to talk through the shaman. Besides, a Kankanay shaman plays a very secondary rôle: she is mostly of use only at the time of sickness, when she has altercations with the spirits who are supposed to cause the disease or when she goes around to look for the *ab-abîik* (Kankanay) or soul, which a sick person is supposed to have lost; while sacrifices, whether public or private, are presided over by men. Let this be enough for the time being.

I just stated that the Isneg shaman explains the meaning of religious rites and ceremonies to her puipls. The manner of conducting these ceremonies, however, is not formally taught: in this respect a young *dorarákit* is a mere looker-on. When the time comes for the

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vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

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my bananas, hoping in this way to catch him unaware, but as quick as lightning he retorted: "*Kinalbów náyá áto* (the dog ate them)". Now the poor boy never thought of the impossibility of that press being opened by a dog, and even in case it could have been done, of the improbability of a dog leaving the meat aside and choosing the bananas instead.

On another occasion I had observed that a kind Iloko lady had missed Mass on two consecutive Sundays; and so at our first meeting I made a little remark about the matter, but she was as quick as my Isneg boy in retorting: "I had my menses". This I merely answered with another question: "Twice a month?"

It may be hard indeed for any innocent person not to defend himself when he has been accused unjustly, but for an Isneg I think it would be simply heroic to keep silent after a reproof, even though it be slight and most amply deserved. And even when the unreasonableness of his excuse has been demonstrated to him, he must be a very dull fellow indeed if he will not immediately try another one, without even stopping to think whether it may not be as little acceptable as the one just rejected.

Another custom which very often makes abstraction of truth or error as we understand it is their manner of answering a question. No conscientious inquirer should ever forget that these people are in the habit of answering a question, not according to truth, but according to what they believe you except to hear from them. I would be the last to accuse them of wilful lying under the circumstances, and would much prefer to put the blame on their inborn desire to please you. This goes to show that one has to be very careful in proffering judgment on our Isneg, not only with reference to questions that may have been answered the wrong way, but also with reference to obedience in general to those precepts of their moral code that have to do with truthfulness and lying. The blame of the whole affair is very often to be laid, either on the inquirer himself who should know something about the mentality of this people, or on the courtesy of the latter: in this case they should be credited, not with the vice of lying, but with the social virtue of politeness.

A few Isneg expressions with a direct or indirect bearing on the education and home life of the child may here be appended:

Áyáyam: Toy.

Lullupítan: Said of a child who cries for the smallest reason.

Dumdúm: Dull, unhandy at work. Also: dull at learning.

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Kútaw's boat, which is always fastened at the *dodóñăn* (place on the bank of a river where a boat is fastened, landing place) on this side of the pond when not in use, has only one *pidpíd* or side plank, which means that one side of the boat is open and unprotected, and nevertheless no water ever enters her and she never goes down. Thus the *kadudúwá* is ferried over the water in a boat that consists of only about one half of an ordinary one, a boat cut in two from stem to stern. When asked how anybody could possibly cross the *lablabbáñ* in such a contrivance, the Isneg merely state that they do not know. And in this they are most certainly right. But who would dare say that the actions of the spirits have to correspond exactly with our own? Their ways are not our ways, and that settles the matter. Besides, the *lablabbáñ* is not an ordinary *labbáñ*, neither are *Kútaw* and the *kadudúwá* ordinary men, so why should the boat be an ordinary one?

The only other detail I have heard about the *lablabbáñ* is that it is full of cogon grass (*labbáñ*) and of worms.

Kútaw himself was once described to me as wearing a coat from which a certain portion of cloth had been torn out entirely, and his headax or *alíwá* as being deprived of one of its essential parts, namely the *sáwit* or blunt projection at the back (cf. CAC–P, 1:233, fig. 68).

Once at the other side, the *kadudúwá* live a happy life in the *Aglalannawán* (called *Tagtaggăyán* at Bayag) or realm of the dead: it is good (*napiyá*) to be there. Their life is comparable to a dream: they live in the same way as we do when we are dreaming. For the rest, they do not change in their ways: they plant and reap as before, have the same likes and dislikes, live on the same kind of food, with none of their old preferences gone, and so on. The house they live in, however, is not made of timber or bamboo; it is a real gold or silver one. There they stay and never come back, except at times and temporarily,—for instance, when they come to get one of their relatives, in which case the latter is *makadudúwá*, becomes sick and dies (such *kadudúwá* are called *gíbu-*), or when they enter the body of a shaman in order to communicate with the living, or even appear to the latter (perhaps only to the shaman), at the time of a *sáy-ám* sacrifice, etc.

It seems to result from all this that even the Isneg have a kind of double fate for man after death: one of happiness for those who prove acceptable to *Kútaw*, and one of privation for those who have to remain behind or are left unguided at the entrance to the *Aglalan-*

778 enveloped the tobacco fields, and all the trees were consumed in fulfilment of the saying that: "no tree shall grow here."

Many years have passed; but the mountain is still bare. And, if you come up to Apayao, you will see for yourself the place which Osud set on fire. Not a single tree has since grow on that mountain. This mountain is located below Magabta. It is called *bantay kungkingan*. If a stranger should pass by this mountain for the first time, he must pray and leave some gift. If he fails to do so, he will get caught in a heavy rain and become sick.

THE DISCOVERY OF LAKE DANAO

Long long ago in the *barangay* of Namaltugan there was a lake called "*Danao*," (lake). One day, while the Colidao people, who lived in Namaltugan were hunting, they discovered the lake. It gave them a great surprise because they found it in the middle of a thick forest which the natives called "*ginobat*." [311] They believed that it was enchanted by an *anito* because, in spite of the fact that it was in the midst of the thick, dark forest, not a single leaf floated on the water or lay in the bottom of the lake.

ooo Then the Colidao people spread to all the others the news of their discovery. When the Madatag people heard about the lake, they thought that it would be the best place for them to hide their precious jars; because they had heard that a man named Toliao was coming to fight with them. He was from the lowlands,